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An Appalling Choice to Head the CIA

The CIA is an intelligence organization run from the rather stuffy conventional wealthy business man's point of view. It is staffed, from the top down, by Wall Streeters, Ivy League dilletantes, superannuated Colonels from the armed forces and scholars whose loyalty can be kept certified only by a fanatical anti-Communism. The main lesson of the Cuban fiasco is that an organization of this kind cannot be relied upon to know what ordinary people are thinking. But President Kennedy does not seem to have learned that lesson at all. In replacing Allen W. Dulles by John A. McCone, he picked a man who is if anything considerably less literate and less knowledgeable than Dulles, and fully as incapable of understanding the resentments and the aspirations that are the dynamic factors in today's world.

Fortunes Built on War and Arms Race

Mr. McCone's rising fortunes, financial and political, have been associated with the war and the arms race. In 1937 he helped to form the Bechtel-McCone-Parsons Corporation, a construction and engineering firm. In January, 1941, he organized and became the president of the California Shipbuilding Company; the Bechtel concern was then given a management contract to run the shipbuilding company. After the war the General Accounting Office told a House Merchant Marine Committee investigation that the company had made $44,000,000 on an investment of $100,000. The same committee a few months later complained that Mr. McCone's company was paid $2,500,000 by the government to take over a shipyard costing $25,000,000 and containing surplus material costing $14,000,000.

Mr. McCone did not confine his interests to shipbuilding. Bechtel-McCone-Parsons also built a huge installation at Birmingham, Alabama, during the war for the Air Force and became a leading construction firm for the AEC. Mr. McCone also organized a private shipping company which did a big transport business for some of the largest AEC contractors, firms like Union Carbide and Dow Chemical. These diverse enterprises had a common stake in armament expenditure, and Mr. McCone made his debut in public service as a member of Truman's Air Policy Commission which in 1948 advocated a stepped up indefinitely prolonged arms race. The report became the bible of the aviation lobby. His views recommended him to the alarmist Secretary of Defense Forrestal who made Mr. McCone his deputy. In 1950-51 he was Under Secretary of the Air Force.

With the Democrats out, Mr. McCone returned to California and Republican politics. There his principal associations, political and religious, were of the right. He became a major money raiser for former Senator Knowland, often referred to as the Senator from Formosa, and he was close to Cardinal McIntyre of Los Angeles, not one of the more liberal members of the American hierarchy. In 1958, Admiral Strauss picked Mr. McCone to succeed him as chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission; they shared the same hostility to public power and to cessation of nuclear testing. At his nomination hearing, one of the exhibits was an angry letter Mr. McCone had sent in 1956, as a Caltech trustee, to ten Caltech faculty members (including Harrison Brown and a Nobel laureate in physics) for releasing a statement supporting Adlai Stevenson's proposal for a ban on H-bomb testing. Mr. McCone, a friend and admirer of Edward Teller, accused the ten professors of echoing Soviet propaganda in what he called an attempt "to create fear in the minds of the uninformed that radioactive fallout from H-bomb tests endangers life."

To control the nation's intelligence is to be in a position to shape decisions of war and peace. The CIA is an enormous bureaucracy, with millions at its disposal to corrupt men abroad and perhaps at home; a rival, shadow State Department with a foreign policy even less enlightened. Its network of cloak-and-dagger operatives abroad move in a murky realm where provocations can make peace untenable. The U-2 was one sample. The Joint Intelligence Board over which Mr. McCone will also preside coordinates all the multifarious snooper organizations of our governmeent—there must be half a dozen beside the CIA and the FBI—and also our growing para-military agencies which can engage secretly in war. Mr. Kennedy could not have made a more appalling choice for so crucial a post.

Next Step

We wondered, as many Democrats must, why the President is picking so many Republicans for the top jobs of his Administration. It has been explained to us now by Mr. James Reston, who sees Mr. Kennedy regularly. In a jubilant report over the President's cleverness in naming John A. McCone to head the CIA (New York Times, Sept. 29), Mr. Reston says Mr. Kennedy is making it hard for the G.O.P. to attack his foreign policy by putting Republicans into key posts dealing with security and foreign affairs: McCone at the CIA, Wm. C. Foster to run the new Disarmament Agency, Lucius Clay as his special emissary to Berlin, Douglas Dillon as Secretary of the Treasury. "How can Barry Goldwater," Mr. Reston exults, "find fault with the Administration's intelligence and determination when two solid Republicans like Allen Dulles and John McCone are running the CIA?" Now that Mr. Reston has opened our eyes to this strategy, we are overcome with admiration, too, and anxious to contribute to it. Wouldn't it be even more devilishly clever if Mr. Kennedy just went ahead and made Barry Goldwater Secretary of State?

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On Private Shelters: Preparing to Fight the Russians, or Each Other?

Long before the next war comes, it is already damaging us as a people. A kind of disintegration is making itself felt, in the relation of State with State, city with city, and neighbor with neighbor. As clearly as on a thermometer, one may see (and feel the chill) of a sharp fall in moral sensibilities. In August, Nevada was talking of mobilizing a 5,000 man militia to "protect our homes, our people" from California refugees fleeing the aftermath of thermonuclear explosions. Now a friend has sent us a clipping from the *San Francisco Chronicle* of Sept. 23 which reports a speech made in Bakersfield, Kern County, California, by the Bakersfield Police Chief, just appointed Civil Defense co-ordinator of all law enforcement agencies in the county. He is described as telling the Greater Bakersfield Chamber of Commerce that in the event of war "the greatest danger to Bakersfield would not be from an atomic bomb or its fallout but from the hundreds of thousands" of survivors fleeing from the Los Angeles area. He said it would be the job of his law enforcement officers to stop them south of town by force and divert them to the desert. "We have plenty of them," he said meaningfully of law enforcement officers, "and they are expendable."

Neighbor Changes It Meaning

This sudden appearance of suspicion and hostility between state and state, city and city, is also making itself felt between neighbors. "Neighbor" was always a word which rang with kindness in our American vocabulary; it conjured up a picture of a housewife borrowing a cup of flour, it recalled rejoicing in the marriage of the girl next door as if she were one's own daughter. Suddenly neighbor no longer connotes a friend, but begins to seem a potential enemy. Only a few weeks ago *Time* magazine (Aug. 18) was citing without disapproval a Chicago suburbanite who was going to mount a machine gun in his bomb shelter to keep out unwelcome neighbors, and a Texas business man who was stocking his shelter with tear gas for the same purpose. A priest in the Jesuit weekly *America* (see box on this page) now declares it is moral to use violence, even to kill, in order to keep others out of one's shelter. Betty Beale, one of those society columnists, reports from the cocktail circuit in the *Washington Post* Sept. 24 that a CIA official said shelters were being installed at night in Washington. He said neighbors curious about the gaping excavations in the backyard next door were palmed off with casual references about a new furnace or leaky plumbing. But when it's time for the telltale evidence to be brought in, they tell the bomb shelter companies to sneak in under cover of darkness lest "come the day they need it" neighbors may try to get in the shelter, too.

Please Father, Just One More Question?

"Indeed in the Christian view, there is great merit in turning the other cheek and bearing evils patiently out of the love of God. But . . . I doubt that any Catholic moralist would condemn the man who used available violence to repel panicky aggressors plying crowbars at the shelter door. . . . It would be a normal exercise of prudence to conceal the entrance, if feasible. . . . Does prudence also dictate that you have some 'protective devices' in your survival kit, e.g. a revolver. . . ? That's for you to decide. . . . But as Civil Defense Coordinator Keith Dwyer said in the Time story: 'There's nothing in the Christian ethic which denies one's right to protect oneself and one's family."

—Father L. C. McHugh, S.J., Associate Editor of the Jesuit weekly, America, *writing on "Ethics at the Shelter Doorway," in its issue of Sept. 30.*

And what if the prudent householder, Father, were to pull the body of just one (1) of these "panicky aggressors" into the shelter where it wouldn't get too radioactive to be edible in case of need?

Russians are far away, almost an abstraction, characters in a newspaper serial story, people you have never seen, not quite real. If there is an exchange of thermonuclear bombs between the U.S. and U.S.S.R., it may be months, if not years, before either will know what has happened in the far away reaches of the other. The deadly exchange already begins to seem impersonal, like a hurricane. The menace is the refugee from the next state, the hungry survivor from the nearby city, above all the man next door. Your neighbor, even before the bombs fall, becomes your No. 1 enemy.

This is what the private shelter program does to us. It puts every man on his own. It says the government can start a war but it is up to the individual to fend for himself. It envisages the survival of those who can best afford a shelter. Its philosophy is the philosophy of devil take the hindmost. It is rugged individualism carried out to the point where it sacrifices the sense of nationhood and the feeling of neighborliness. A community, a nation, is more than a number of people. It is a living thing bound together by shared experiences, values, interests and devotion. Dissolve these, put every man on his own, make every other man his potential enemy, and you have destroyed what you talked of defending. Something precious, something we liked to think of as American in the best sense, is already slipping from us.

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION OF I. F. Stone's Weekly published 48 times a year at Washington, D. C. for 1960. 1. The *names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and* business managers are: Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor, I. F. Stone, 5618 Nebraska Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.; Business Manager Esther M. Stone, 5618 Nebraska Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C. 2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given.) I. F. Stone, 5618 Nebraska Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. Esther M. Stone, 5618 Nebraska Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. Celia M. Gilbert, Cambridge, Mass. Jeremy F. Stone, Menlo Park, Calif. Christopher D. Stone, New Haven, Conn. 3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: none. 4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner. 5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required from daily, weekly, semiweekly and triweekly newspapers only.) 13,581. Signed, I. F. Stone. Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of September 1961. Alvin Bernstein, Notary Public, Washington, D. C. (My commission expires 7-31-1962.)

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Continued Russian Tests Poison Mankind's Hopes As Well As Its Air

How to sum up the present stage in disarmament negotiations? Perhaps the first point in an objective assessment is that it is politically necessary for both great Powers, while preparing for war, to *talk* disarmament. This necessity is imposed by world opinion. Hence the characteristic ambivalence of policy in both Washington and Moscow. Here, thanks to strenuous efforts by the President and by John J. McCloy, Congress was miraculously prevailed upon to pass a law creating a U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. For the first time a separate branch of the government has been established to deal with all the problems involved in the search for disarmament and peace, including even authority to study "the scientific, economic, political, legal, social, psychological, military and technological factors related to the prevention of war with a view to a better understanding of how the basic structure of a lasting peace may be established." At the same time, as if part of a tacit deal to win support on the right and among the Republicans, the man put in charge is another of those Republicans like McCone (see page one) who rose to prominence on Truman's cold war team. Wm. C. Foster, the new head of the agency, was on the Gaither committee which recommended a vastly stepped up arms race to Eisenhower. He had been very much a cold warrior. There are good people who say he has "gotten religion" on the subject of disarmament. We can only hope.

The Russians on the other hand have taken over the slogan our right wingers and cold warriors were using last spring in pressuring the President to resume nuclear testing. Their slogan was "T'nT", "Test n'talk." TNT is the right abbreviation for this policy because it is explosive. The Russians talk total disarmament and so do we, but they have just exploded the 16th in their new series of atmospheric tests. Unless they take up the President's offer in his UN speech for a new moratorium, Mr. Kennedy will be forced by military pressure to resume testing in the atmosphere, too. How will useful talks be possible as tension rises with new tests on both sides, and new threats of new monsters in the wake of Khrushchev's 100-megaton bomb? It is not only the atmosphere of mankind but its mind and soul, and its hopes, which are being poisoned as the Russians continue testing.

Hat's Off

To Literary Gazette in Moscow for its courage in publishing and to Soviet poet Yevgeni Yevtushenko for writing his ode on Babi Yari, the ravine outside Kiev where the Nazis massacred 140,000 Jews during the occupation. That universal and unmatched conscience which was the glory of Russian pre-revolutionary literature makes itself heard again in Yevtushenko's protest against an anti-Semitism which is still endemic and widespread in the Soviet Union despite 40 years of the Revolution. The scandal is that there are no plans to build a memorial at Babi Yari but that the ravine is in process of being filled in for a sport field and that Yevtushenko was at once attacked for his poem in the organ of the Russian Federation of Writers, which is controlled by party hacks. But how good it is to see genuine social protest opening another crack in the Stalinist glacier! On behalf of our Jewish brothers in Russia, we warmly thank Yevtushenko.

A Little Blood As A Tonic?

One aspect of the speech made by Mrs. Smith of Maine in the Senate Sept. 21 has gone unnoticed. What did she mean when she said that "our deterrent capacity" was not "inexhaustible" but "must be revitalized appropriately with actions"? A moment later she was saying, "We cannot expect the national will to overcome forever the enervating effects of repeated losses without its being revitalized by the new strength of meaningful victories." Does this mean we must have a little war to "revitalize" our deterrent capacity and achieve some military victories to counteract "the enervating effects of repeated losses"? Was her meaning spelled out more clearly by the Scripps-Howard columnist Richard Starnes (Sept. 27) when he said the President's speech to the UN ought to be punctuated "by swift and decisive action" adding, "Cuba is an attractive target, of course, but there are factors which would cloud the instruction we seek to administer. Far better is southeast Asia, where we would be fighting admitted Communists. . . . Laos is a splendid opportunity for spelling out the lesson that we have the means and will preserve freedom." This is the philosophy of that old democrat, Bismarck, who also believed nothing so energized a nation as a little blood and iron.

Two Vivid Glimpses of the Realities U.S. Intelligence Misses in Korea

One explosive area where U.S. intelligence continues to be poor because blinded by a simple-minded anti-Communism is in South Korea. There we have quickly reconciled ourself to a new military dictatorship and its leader, Gen. Pak Chung Hi is soon to be given the prestige of a visit to the President. Youngjeung Kim, head of the Korean Affairs Institute in Washington, complains in a letter to the Washington Post (Sept. 29) that the new military junta has just sentenced three South Korean editors to death for the "crime" of advocating peaceful reunification of their country without eliciting protest from a single U.S. editor.

Foreign Affairs for October carries a bitter attack on U.S. policy in Korea and its "massive ignorance" by Edward W. Wagner, assistant professor of Korean studies at Harvard. Prof. Wagner says 40 percent of the farm families must subsist on one acre or less, that in the urban areas unemployment is estimated as high as 25 percent. Per capita income is under $100 a year. In the North, shut off from U.S. observation by an Iron Curtain passport policy of our own, extraordinary progress has given its 10,000,000 people "a higher standard of living than they have ever known. And as these people have never lived under free institutions," Prof. Wagner adds, "the harsh features of Communist rule must seem less crucial to them than their material progress."

South Korea has neither freedom nor progress. According to Prof. Wagner, the new regime has wiped out all deliberative bodies, down to the village level. He concludes that the new Generals are incapable of giving South Korea the "thoroughgoing social revolution it desperately needs." The real threat to South Korea today, he concludes, "is the threat of subversion by invidious comparison . . . between Seoul and Pyongyang." 70,000 Korean residents of Japan have just underscored this by choosing repatriation to North rather than South Korea. But there is no sign whatsoever that Washington understands this.

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The UN Was Supposed to Be A Universal Organization, Not A Cold War Tool

Suppose *Pravda* Praised the UN for Keeping Capitalism Out of the Congo?

Two aspects of the battle over the UN Secretary-Generalship seem to us noteworthy. The first is that it is only through the political power of the non-aligned nations that the Soviet Union has been forced to retreat from its troika proposal. The second is that the U.S. rather than the U.S.S.R. now seems to be intransigeant.

Somehow the new Soviet compromise offer is represented as if the Russians were still insisting on some kind of veto. Frederich Kuh of the *Chicago Sun-Times* (Oct. 3) seems to be the only correspondent who has furnished the exact words of their statement itself, "The Soviet delegation," he quoted, "has made it clear that it does not have in mind the utilization of the veto on the part of any of these deputies to the provisional chief of the United Nations administrative body."

A Variant of Neutral Proposals

The Soviet offer is only a slight variant of proposals put forward at last year's session by various neutrals. There would be one Secretary General with three deputies. Three officials high in the Secretariat, Bunche of the U.S., Arkadiev of the U.S.S.R. and Narasimhan of India would be the deputies. The new provisional chief of the administration would, however, be instructed to "maintain daily cooperation" with these deputies "and seek to achieve mutual agreement with them on the major questions of the work of the secretariat."

A great deal of hypocrisy surrounds this dispute on the Western side. The UN was set up on the basis of great power unanimity. Since the Soviet bloc has been in a permanent minority, its safeguard has been the veto. The veto has been circumvented, first by expanding the powers of the General Assembly and secondly those of the Secretary General.

The Soviets feel that the West has made the UN Secretariat an instrument of Western policy on too many occasions. Indeed "let Dag do it" became a favorite State Department formula in difficult situations. If the organization is to be kept together, both major blocs must be satisfied. The proposal for bloc deputies to be consulted seems to us a reasonable compromise.

One has only to read James Reston's naively revealing exposition in the *New York Times* Sept. 25 of Kennedy's attitude toward the UN (on the eve of the President's appearance there) to see what this fight is really about. As Mr. Reston said, "the President has never been particularly idealistic about the UN. He does not spend his evenings dreaming about the brotherhood or the parliament of man" but he sees "an independent and courageous Secretary General, able and willing to carry out the instructions of the veto free General Assembly" as a useful instrument against Communist expansion, in short a way to "keep Communism out of the Congo."

But the UN was supposed to be a universal organization, not a cold war instrument. How would we feel about an "independent Secretary General" if *Pravda* explained it would keep *capitalism* out of the Congo?

Contrast

Which is un-American? To hold a meeting built around the theme, that democracy is "the worst form of government there is"? Or to hold a meeting in opposition to a law which was passed only over a President's veto and barely hurdled its first Supreme Court test by a 5-to-4 vote? The first meeting may be found described by the AFL-CIO News (Sept. 30) in a dispatch from Chicago where Robert Welch of the Birch Society called democracy "the worst form of government there is." The second meeting was a "National Assembly for Democratic Rights" held in New York Sept. 23-4 to make plans for fighting the Internal Security Act of 1950 which Congress enacted over Truman's veto.

The Un-American Activities Committee subpoenaed not only the organizers of the second meeting but executives of two radical papers which accepted advertisements announcing it, a new extension of the Committee's authority. A handful of radicals and liberals still uncowed enough to fight the Subversive Activities Control Board were pilloried last week by the Committee. It lifts no finger to subpoena, to investigate or even focus public attention on the swift mushrooming or subversive Fascist-style organizations on the right. Indeed its staff is infiltrated by right wing crackpots and its members lean Birchward themselves.

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